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XVII. *Some Attempts to ascertain the utmost Extent of the Knowledge of the Ancients in the East Indies: by Mr. John Caverhill.*

Read March 19,  
1767.

ALL the moderns who have treated of the geography of the ancients, more particularly in their account of the Sinæ, the most oriental country they were acquainted with, have differed so widely from the only guides they had to follow to the east of the Ganges, that I have undertaken to lay before the Royal society some observations, which may contribute to determine, with greater precision, the situation and limits of this country.

But as geographers have been unanimous in supposing the Aurea Chersonesus to have been the same as the present kingdom of Malacca; the only difficulty, which remains, is to discover how far they failed beyond it, in the days of Ptolemy. And, that the proofs alledged in support of what may be asserted in the course of this disquisition may be better understood; I have thought it necessary to annex a correct modern chart of this Peninsula, and have also added the outlines of Ptolemy's, (See Tab. VIII. IX. X.) for reasons which will soon appear.

It may be proper first to observe, that Cattigara was the name of a port situated somewhere beyond

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the Aurea Chersonesus or Malacca; and that the antients had never sailed farther than Cattigara: for contiguous to it was a terra incognita<sup>a</sup>. But at what distance the Aurea Chersonesus was from Cattigara, Ptolemy himself was ignorant; for he says, "that Marinus, who is quoted by him upon this occasion, had not marked the number of the stadia: *τὴ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσοῦς Χερσονήσου ἐπὶ τὰ Καττιγάρῃ διαπλῆξ τὸν σταδίασμον ὁ Μαρίνος οὐκ ἐκτίθειται*<sup>b</sup>." It was said however that Alexander reported the land from thence lay upon the north side of the line; and that those who sailed along the shore, arrived at the city of Zaba in twenty days; from Zaba sailing south, and especially to the left hand, in some days they reached Cattigara: *Φησι δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἀναγεγράφειν τὴν γῆν ἐντευθεν ἐναντίαν εἶναι τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς πλεούσας παρ' αὐτὴν ἐν ἡμέραις εἰκοσὶ καταλαμβάνειν πόλιν Ζάβας. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ζάβαν πρὸς νοτοῦ διαπλευσαντας, καὶ μάλλον εἰς τὰ εὐωνύμια ἡμέρας τινὰς, ἐκδεχεσθαι τὰ Καττιγάρῃ.*" In order therefore to endeavour to acquire some knowledge of the distance, Ptolemy begins by comparing it with the same number of days sailing on a part of the coast of Africa, with which he was acquainted; and, after this uncertain calculation, concludes, that these two places might be distant from each other 17 degrees and  $\frac{1}{6}$ .

As his only view through this whole chapter is to finish what he had begun in the foregoing ones, the longitude of the then known world, his errors are the more excusable; especially as his calcula-

<sup>a</sup> Ptol. Geograph. l. i. c. 17. Paris, 1546.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. i. c. 14.

tions will be found very near the truth : his greatest mistake therefore is in adding these 17 degrees to the longitude of the earth ; whereas Cattigara was to the latitude of Malacca, and almost upon the same Meridian.

Although Ptolemy no where particularly mentions from what part of Malacca the sailors who went this voyage took their departure, yet as his most southern point of land in this Peninsula, is exactly 17 degrees of longitude from Cattigara, and as Romana is the most southern cape of Malacca at present, this clearly indicates it to have been near that cape, but to the west of it.

For elsewhere he acquaints us \*, “ that he had  
 “ learned many particulars concerning the inland  
 “ parts of the provinces and countries of India, even  
 “ to the Aurea Chersonesus, and from thence to Cat-  
 “ tigara, and the sailors who went this voyage agreed  
 “ that it was to the east ; but that they immediately  
 “ returned towards the west ; and that the time  
 “ for performing this last voyage was irregular, and  
 “ not fixed : *παρ ὧν και τα τε ἄλλα περι την Ινδικην*  
 “ *μερικωτερον, και κατὰ τας επαρχιας, εμαθομεν και ταυτας*  
 “ *της χωρας ενδοτερω, μεχρι της χρυσης Χερσονησος, και εν-*  
 “ *τευθεν εως των Κατιγαρων. το μεν οτι προς ανατολας εστιν,*  
 “ *ο πολλους εισπλεοντων, και παλιν εξιστων προς δυσμας συν-*  
 “ *ισορουτων. τον δε ατακτον και ανωμαλον τον χρονον των δια-*  
 “ *νυσεων προσομολογητων.*”

To explain this passage it may be observed, that their sailing first to the east was from necessity, because they had not as yet doubled cape Romana, the

\* Lib. i. c. 17.

most southern point of land in Asia, from whence they were obliged, by their own rules of sailing, to return towards the west, after having doubled the cape. This does not appear so westerly by the chart as it did to them; because a strong easterly tide sets by the cape, which, by carrying them too far east, would make their next course toward the west, and which would soon become intirely so by the figure of the land <sup>d</sup>.

Alexander reported, that the land lay north of the line; they had imagined cape Romana, as well as some other parts of Malacca, lay south of it; they were therefore, no doubt, surprized to find the land retreat.

He has told us that they arrived at Zaba in 20 days, and from it sailing south, but rather to the left hand, in some days they reached Cattigara. Zaba therefore stood somewhere upon the bottom of the bay of Siam; because no other situation but the bottom of the bay of Siam obliged them to alter their course to the south; and including the inequality of the coast, it will be allowing a sufficient distance for the number of days they were in sailing it.

From Zaba they began to sail south, and immediately follows, rather to the left hand; now they could not sail south and incline to the left hand without approaching the east; this therefore might be any point between the south and east. The figure of the coast runs exactly in this direction, and is a proof of the accuracy of the description.

In this course they continued some days before they reached Cattigara. Ptolemy justly finds fault with the uncertainty of the expression, *some* days, and is at a loss how many days to allow for *some*; but, as he had no better information, and as they arrived at Cattigara by observing this south east course, it must have stood somewhere to the north west of the mouth of the river Cambodia.

Marcianus Heracleota also expressly mentions that they which sailed to Cattigara held the same course. His words are, “ sailing therefore out of the great bay, and the promontory Notium, as if to the south, and keeping the country of Sinæ to the left and to the east; you meet with a bay pertaining to wild beasts, which reaches to the promontory of Satyrs; that after this promontory follows the greatest bay called the bay of Sinæ, which extends to the Terra Australis et Orientalis incognita, into which bay runs the river Cotiarin, and upon which river stands Cattigara a sea-port of the Sinæ: Πλεονήϊι τεινῶν μέλα τον μεγαν κολπον, και το Νοτιον ακρον, ὡς πρὸς την μεσημβριαν, και αριστεραν εχούσι την τε των Σινων γην, και την ανατολην· εκδεχέται κολπος θηρωδης καλουμενος, διηκων μεχρι του ακρωτηριου του καλουμενου Σατυρων ακρου. Απο δε του ακρου των Σατυρων, εκδεχέται κολπος μεγατος, καλουμενος Σινων κολπος. παρηκει δε ἔτος μεχρι της μεσημβρινης ἀνῶσου γης, ἢ συνάπῃ. και της ἀνατολης ἀνῶσον γην. απο δε του Κόλιαρου πῶταμου, εκδεχέται Κατάρταξ ὅρος μὲν Σινων.”

For these reasons it is extremely probable that Cattigara stood somewhere upon the north east coast of the bay of Siam. A very intelligent modern

dern Navigator\* gives the following description of it: " For 50 leagues from Liam point it is a barren sandy desert to Ponteamafs, by far the most considerable port on the coast, and a place of pretty good trade for many years, but a narrow river, which in the rainy seasons of the south west Monsoons has communication with Banfac or Cambodia river, which made it draw foreign commerce from the city of Cambodia hither, for the city lieth near 100 miles up the river, and most part of the way a continual stream, made the navigation so troublesome as few cared to trade to it, for which reason they came to Ponteamafs."

As this therefore is by far the most considerable port on the coast, we may reasonably suppose it to be the same with the antient Cattigara. The following arguments will serve to confirm the validity of this supposition.

The distance between Ponteamafs and the bottom of the bay, where they began sailing for some days south, may very well agree with the 4 degrees Ptolemy allows for it. It may be remembered that he had supposed the 17 degrees beyond Malacca, were situated to the east of it; this supposition which has before been found to be erroneous, Ptolemy seems now to reason from as a fact, in order to support his former hypothesis, notwithstanding his declaration that he thought it ridiculous to imagine, as others had, that *πῶς ἡμέρας* should signify many days. We have already seen that his first error consisted in imagining that Cattigara lay 17 degrees east

\* Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii.

of cape Romana, whereas it was nearly to the west of it. The second error was in protracting the east side of the bay of Siam 18 degrees farther than the land at present exists. And it will immediately appear in what manner this happened.

The boundaries of the Sinæ to the west, is in his 173 degree of longitude, and the most southern end of that parallel, in the 17th of north latitude<sup>f</sup>. Cattigara in the 177th and 8th of south latitude<sup>g</sup>. This difference was the whole maritime extent of the country. In his description of the west side of the bay, he had consumed 13 degrees of longitude, that is from cape Romana to the bottom where the land began to reflect south; and these are what he allowed for the 20 days sailing already mentioned; there were only 4 degrees remaining between the bottom of the bay and Cattigara; but, as that would not at all agree with the accounts he had received of its being a great bay, when one side was so much shorter than the other, he might think his first explanation of the word *some*, erroneous; more especially as the other signification that was given, which was to take it for *many*, even so *many*, that they could not be numbered, would intirely coincide with his first

<sup>f</sup> Lib. vii. cap. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. vii. cap. 3. It has been a prevailing opinion that Agathemerus made these tables we have annexed to Ptolemy's geography, but this appears only to have been done in consequence of the longitudes and latitudes Ptolemy had settled. For when we see him fall into so great an error in his first book, which none doubts to be his own, the adding these supposititious 17 degrees to the longitude of the earth; why may we not with as much appearance of justice lay this second fault to his charge, especially as we have no proofs to the contrary?

Theory. Accordingly he has put down 25 degrees of latitude for *some*; but in such a manner that the south end of this imaginary line was not more than 4 degrees east of the north end in the bottom of the bay of Siam; by which he has not only contradicted that very Alexander he himself quotes, who told him the land was to the north of the line; but renounced his first rational opinion, in thinking four degrees might be a sufficient allowance for *τινας*.

2d. The country beyond Ponteamas exactly agrees with Ptolemy's description of that beyond Cattigara, "a marshy country, which produced reeds of such a size, that when they were joined and tied together, they were enabled to pass from one side to the other. και τα αναβολικώτερα ταύων, αἰνῶτος ἐστὶ γῆ, λιμένας ἐχούσα ἰλευθεῖς, ἐν αἷς καλάμοι μεγάλοι φυοῖται, και συνεχεῖς οὕτως, ὥς τε ἐχόμενους αὐτῶν, ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαπεραιώσεις <sup>h</sup>." Now the kingdom of Cambodia is annually overflowed with water during the south west monsoons, the very season in which the ships arrived there; so must have exactly answered these appearances and his description.

"Cambodia, or Camboxa, is annually overflowed by the river Menam, one of the largest in India, carrying so much water that it floods and covers the fields, like the Nile in Ægypt; for six months it runs backwards. The reason of it is the extent and plainness of the country it runs along, and the southern breezes which choak up the bar with sand <sup>i</sup>."

<sup>h</sup> Lib. i. c. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Argensola, History of the Spice Islands.

3d. No other country will correspond with his description of the Sinæ; "they were bounded on the north by part of Serica<sup>k</sup>, on the east and south by an unknown land, on the west by India, without the Ganges, according to the parallel already mentioned, and the great bay, and by the parts adjacent of the bay inhabited by wild beasts, and a part of the bay of Sinæ inhabited by Æthiopian fish-eaters: οἱ Σιναι περλορρίζονται, απο μεν ακριων τῷ εκτεθειμενῷ μερει της Σηρικης, απο δε αναβολων και μεσημεριας αἰνωσῶ γη. απο δε δυσεως, τῇ ἐκ τῆς Γαγγῆς Ἰνδικῇ, καὶ τὴν διωρισμενὴν μεχρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κόλπου γραμμῆν, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ κόλπῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἑξῆς αὐτῷ κειμενοῖς, τῷ τε καλουμένῳ θηρωδεῖ, καὶ τῷ τῶν Σινῶν, οὐ περλορικουσιν ἰχθυοφαγοὶ Αἰθιοπες<sup>l</sup>."

We have already spoken of this unknown land to the east; but the land was unknown to the south likewise, not only according to this description of Ptolemy, but by a passage of Marcianus Heracleota, who lived after him, and had such other information as

<sup>k</sup> Ptolemy has placed this nation too far east, as is evident from a passage both in Dionysius and Rufus Festus Avienus. He has made an imaginary parallel intersect the 180th degree of longitude, and run north to the 63d degree of latitude, and bound both these nations to the east; and it would be difficult to conjecture the cause of this mistake, had these not been the most oriental nations he was acquainted with. This error appears to have bewildered all the moderns, who have attempted to ascertain the situation of this country. But as we hope to be able to prove that the present kingdom of Cambodia was the Sina of Ptolemy; the country of the Seres, by that rule, would be part of Thibet, and north of it to the 63d degree of latitude. But their true situation appears to have been in some part of the present Buckaria, to the east and north east of Samarcand.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. vii. c. 3.

discoveries produced during the interval from Ptolemy's death. He says, " we ought to conceive two  
 " unknown lands, one extending to the east, which  
 " the Sinæ possess, and the other towards the south,  
 " which stretches through the whole Indian ocean,  
 " so that both these unknown lands meeting, form  
 " as it were a certain angle in the bay of the Sinæ :  
 " δυο γὰρ ἀγνωστους ὑπονοεῖν χρὴ γὰς, τὴν τε πᾶρα τὴν ἀνα-  
 " τολὴν διηκουσαν, ἣ παροικεῖν εἰρηκαμένους Σινᾶς, καὶ τὴν  
 " πᾶρα τὴν μεσημβριαν, ἥτις διηκεῖ πᾶρα πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰνδι-  
 " κὴν θάλασσαν· ὥστε συναπτούσας, ἐκείρας τὰς ἀγνώ-  
 " στους γὰς, καθάπερ τινα γωνίαν ἀποτελεῖν περὶ τὸν τῶν  
 " Σινῶν κόλπον<sup>m</sup>." Now Cattigara stood upon a river which ran into this bay ; and as they had never failed so far as the mouth of the river Menam, the accuracy of this description is very apparent.

This country was bounded on the west by India, without the Ganges ; or, as he has said elsewhere, by the 173d degree of longitude ; extending north from the middle of the great bay to the country of the Seres, and the great bay, and parts adjacent of the bay of wild beasts, and part of the bay of the Sinæ, inhabited by Æthiopian fish-eaters<sup>n</sup>. These two bays were, by this description, evidently on the east side of the great bay, and between Cattigara and the bottom, or between the present Ponteamafs and the mouth of the river Mecon.

For the same reasons therefore that the present Ponteamafs seems to have been the ancient Cattiga-

<sup>m</sup> M. Heracleot. p. 29.

<sup>n</sup> Captain Hamilton says that the rivers of this country abound with many kinds of fish, which are a considerable object of trade among the inhabitants.

ra; the modern city of Cambodia will be the anti-ent metropolis Sinarum.

Ptolemy tell us, " that Cattigara lay south west  
" of the metropolis: η δε απο της μετροπολεως των Σινων  
" επι τον ορμον, τα Κατήγαρα, προς δυσμους εσι, και με-  
" σημεραν. ο." So does Ponteamas from the city of  
Cambodia.

He agrees with the author of the Periplus of the  
Red sea, " that this metropolis was a Mediterranean  
" city, although he says it had no brazen walls, nor  
" any thing worthy of notice: ουτε μεντοι χαλκα τειχη  
" φασιν αυην εχειν, ουτε αλλο τι αξιολογον P."

The author of the Periplus says, " that beyond  
" the Ganges, upon the eastern extremity of this  
" country, under the very rising of the sun, there is  
" an island in the ocean, having most excellent tor-  
" toise shell, and all things that are to be found about  
" the Red sea. And that after this country, imme-  
" diately without it, in some place where the sea  
" ends, is situated the greatest Mediterranean city,  
" called Thina: κατ' αυιον δε τον ποταμον νησος εστιν ωκεαν-  
" ειος, εχλη των προς αναβολην μερων της οικουμενης, υπ'  
" αυιον ανεχοντα τον ηλιον, καλουμενη χρυση, χελωνην εχουσα  
" παντων των καλα την Ερυθραν τοπων αριστην. μελα δε ταυ-  
" την την χωραν, υπ' αυιον ηδη τον βορειαν εξωθεν εις Σινων τινος  
" τοπον, αποληγουσης της θαλασσης, παρακειται εν αυη  
" πολις μεσοειος μελιση λεγομενη Θινα q."

This island in the ocean, which stood upon the ex-  
tremity of this country, appears to be the present

• Lib. i. c. 17.

P L. vii. c. 3.

q Peripl. M. E. p. 36. Geog. Veter. Script. Oxon.

island of Sumatra, which fronts both the most southern and eastern parts of Malacca.

He has not in the least confounded this peninsula with the island, notwithstanding he calls them both by the name of Aurea; the first was upon the extremity of the east; the island also was upon the extremity of the east, but it was likewise under the very rising of the sun. Had he not been acquainted with this distinction, he would not have used the word *χωρον*, but *νησον* (so it would have been), after this island, but we see that he says it was, after this country, and immediately without it, in some place where the sea ended, where this city was situated.

This exactly agrees with the bay of Siam; it lies after Malacca, for we must pass that peninsula before we can arrive at it; it is also immediately without it, and towards the north in some place where the sea ends. The bottom of the bay of Siam is 13 degrees north of cape Romana, and there the sea may be said, without much impropriety, to end; more especially as in that place was situated this city, beyond which we have no accounts of any further investigations made in his days.

This very concise but accurate narrative, at the same time that it gives all the proof we can possibly expect that Sumatra was not at that time joined to the continent, so likewise does it demonstrate this metropolis to have been situated somewhere in this bay; and although we might conjecture, with as great an appearance of probability from these circumstances alone, that it was Siam, rather than Cambodia; yet from the collateral evidence already produced, that they sailed out of the bay before they arrived at its port, it is evident it lay south east of Siam,

and the testimony of Ptolemy and Marcianus Hera-  
cleota, who assert that the same south east course was  
held in order to reach Cattigara, being added, it ne-  
cessarily follows, that that port was situated to the  
west of that cape which faces Puli Ubi<sup>1</sup>; but as  
there is no city west of that cape, on this particular  
part of the continent, except Cambodia, we may  
therefore reasonably suppose that city the antient me-  
tropolis Sinæ<sup>2</sup>.

It may be observed that the ancient city of Thina  
and modern city of Cambodie not only agree in  
situation, but also in the nature of their produce.  
Formerly "they exported fine otton<sup>1</sup> and flowered

<sup>1</sup> See Plate IX.

<sup>2</sup> Vossius wondered how any one could doubt that the antient  
Sina was the same with the modern Siam, without giving any  
reasons at all for his conjecture. "Quis dubitare possit, quin illa  
"sit ea ipsa, quæ nunc Siam appellatur?" Voss. Obs. ad P. Melam,  
p. 560. Lugd. B. 1748. Whether or not Cambodia had the  
same name formerly with Siam, or was a province to it, is at  
this time impossible to determine; but it manifestly appears, that  
this metropolis was neither the present city of Siam, nor situated  
in any part of the country now known by that name.

<sup>1</sup> Οθονιον το σηρικον seems to have been rather a vegetable, than  
vermicular production; for, although it may signify any species of  
web, it more properly denotes such as are made of cotton or lint;  
on that presumption, we have translated it flowered muslins; for, as  
these webs were made in the manner of those by a people who  
were called the Seres, it appears by the following lines that the  
figure of flowers were interwoven with theirs:

— εθνεα βαρβαρα Σηρων,  
Εἰμάλα τευχασιν πολυδαίδαλα, τιμηνετα,  
Εἰδομενα χροϊη λειμωνιδος ανθεσι ποιης.  
"gentes barbara Serum  
" Vestes faciunt, varii artificii, pretiosas  
" Similes colore pratensis floribus herbæ."

Dionys. Perieg. ver. 752.

" muslins

“ muslins by land to the coast of Malabar and Gugarati : αφ’ ἧς τότε εἶλον, καὶ τὸ θόνιον τὸ σπέρκεν, εἰς τὸν Βαρυλᾶζαν δια Βακίλων πωλῆ φερέται, καὶ εἰς τὴν λιμνην πολλὴν, δια τοῦ Γαλίου πώλαται. ” At present “ they have cotton manufactures of various sorts, “ white and painted calicoes, muslins, buckrams, “ dimities, carpets, and silk tapestry, with other various pieces, finer than any from the manufactories

— “ & plurima millia Serum  
 “ Illis nulla boum, pecoris, nec pascua curæ,  
 “ Vestibus utuntur texunt quas floribus ipsi.”

Perieg. Priscian.

These goods must have been more excellent than any which India, west of that city, at that time produced, or otherwise they would never have gone so far to seek them ; from which it may be suspected that this invention of fabricating such beautiful muslins was exported with these merchandises, and is of much later date in Bengal than in this country to the east of it. Cambodia appears to have been called Rachmi by two Arabian travellers, who went to China in the ninth century ; and even at that time the finest muslins in the world were manufactured by its inhabitants. In this same country, say the travellers, they make cotton garments in so extraordinary a manner that no where else are the like to be seen ; these garments were for the most part round, and wove to that degree of fineness that they may be drawn through a ring of a middling size. M. Renaudot, Translat. 1733. Lond.

We have supposed that those kingdoms were the same, because Rachmi was contiguous to a kingdom seated upon a promontory, which appears to have been either the kingdom of Ava or Siam, to which the peninsula of Malacca was formerly a province ; likewise there was but one kingdom between it and China, and north of it lay a country called Kascbin, which, by their description, appears to have been the kingdom of Laos. This will still be more probable when we consider that no country immediately to the east or west of it, viz. Pegu, Siam, or Cochin-China, are famed for these manufactories.

“ P. M. E. ubi supra.

“ in

“ in Holland ; besides, the inhabitants are the most  
 “ subtle merchants in the east, and the country itself  
 “ is superiour in fertility to most of those which  
 “ surround it\*.”

We are told “ that this city was difficult of access,  
 “ and that but a few people were acquainted with  
 “ the course in this voyage, and that these few seldom  
 “ failed so far : εις δε την θιναι ταυτην ουκ εστιν ευχερωσ απ-  
 “ ελθειν. σπανιως γαρ απ’ αυτης τινες ου πολλοι ερχον-  
 “ ται γ,” it may be imagined that the great distance  
 of this city, and the irregularity of the winds in the  
 bay of Siam, which happens in all bays, was the oc-  
 casion of substituting these caravans in preference to  
 the voyage ; more especially as these two articles,  
 which are mentioned to have been exported, were  
 extremely light and portable, and could be easily trans-  
 ported by land to these countries already mentioned,  
 where they would be bought up, and dispersed over  
 Europe by the merchants of Ægypt.

But, notwithstanding we are ignorant of the time  
 when the route of these caravans was established, yet  
 we have no reason to presume, as an ingenious gen-  
 tleman has<sup>z</sup>, that this had taken place in the time of  
 any of the Ptolemies ; when no author, before the  
 emperor Trajan, has so much as mentioned this na-  
 tion. Indeed it is most probable this country was dis-  
 covered by such ships as that great prince sent to In-  
 dia, with a design of acquiring what information they  
 could receive ; in order, by their intelligence, to be as-

\* Argensol.

γ P. M. Eryth.

z Schmidt, Opuscul. p. 184.

sisted in the designs he had upon that country, after his conquest of Arabia <sup>a</sup>.

There are remains of the pristine grandeur of Cambaia <sup>b</sup>; and its being famous in almost the same kind of produce is a strong indication of its obligations to the commerce of Cambodia. The marble ruins of an extensive city have lately been discovered <sup>c</sup> to the north west of Cambodia, and to all appearance in the very route of these caravans; but on this occasion, as on many others, we are but too sensible of the deficiency of intelligence, and of the great havock of time, which has involved the transactions of this period in almost impenetrable obscurity.

At the same time, that the antients extended their knowledge upon the continent, they must unavoidably have been acquainted with such of these islands as were most contiguous to it. Accordingly Ptolemy <sup>d</sup> has given us the names of several, in progression from the Ganges to Sumatra, which he has called, with two others he has joined to it, *Σαλαδελαι*; this supposition will appear more probable, as these islands are in the same longitude with Malacca, and directly south of that peninsula.

When they were upon that part of the coast which faces Malacca, they appear to have proceeded along the remaining part of the north east side of it, as far as Java, which he has named Jabadiu, *Ιαβαδιου* <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Trajan died in the 118th of the Christian era.

<sup>b</sup> Hamilton.

<sup>c</sup> Argenfol.

<sup>d</sup> Ptol. G. l. vii. c. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Jabadiou should perhaps be rendered Javadiv, as in the Malayan language Dib or Dive signifies an island, and Giava barley, which this island, according to Ptolemy, produced in great quantities. As Giava is derived from an old Persian word of the

And the inhabitants of this island were more civilized than some of the neighbouring ones, who were all cannibals, “ for it had a silver metropolis, and “ produced not only gold but plenty of barley: ὁ ση-  
 “ μαινει κρηθος νησος. ευφρονωτατη δε λεγεται ἡ νησος ειναι,  
 “ και ετι πλειστον χρυσον ποιειν. εχειν δε μετροπολιν ονομα  
 “ αργυρον.”

Next to it were the three islands of Satyrs; “ they  
 “ were called so because the men who inhabited  
 “ them, were said to have such tails as the Satyrs  
 “ were usually painted with; ταυρας<sup>f</sup> οἱ κατεχοντες,  
 “ ουρας εχειν λεγονται, ἱποιας διατραπευσι τας των σατυρων.”  
 These were most probably the Celebes<sup>g</sup>, Borneo, &c.  
 “ for immediately after them were said to be other  
 “ ten islands (called Manillas), which produced such  
 “ large quantities of loadstone, as have been said to  
 “ attract ships ashore, which happened to be con-  
 “ structed with iron nails, for which reason the in-  
 “ habitants made use of wooden ones: φερονται δε και  
 “ αλλα συνεχεις δεκα. εν αἷς φασι τα σιδηρους εχοντα ἡλους  
 “ πλοια κατεχεσθαι, καλα της ἡρακλειας λιθου περι αυτας  
 “ γεννωμενης. και δια τουτο επιπλοισ ναυπηγεσθαι, κατε-  
 “ χειν τε και αυτας ανθρωποφαιδους, καλουμενους Μανι-  
 “ λας<sup>h</sup>.”

same signification, it would appear that both the name of the island and that of the grain were exported from that country. Hyde's, Histon. Relig. Vet. Perf. &c.

<sup>f</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>g</sup> The Celebes is infested with numbers of mischievous and dangerous great monkeys, which keep in bodies too hard for any wild beasts to hurt them, and are only afraid of serpents, which pursue them to the very tops of the trees, and devour them. Bowen's Geogr. Dict. v. ii. p. 378.

<sup>h</sup> The Manillas are original names, and were called so by the inhabitants before the Spaniards took possession of them. Argensol, Histon.

Notwithstanding Ptolemy has mentioned the Philippines; yet we don't imagine that any of the persons from whom he acquired his information had ever been there: but that they had heard of these places at Java (to which they might easily have sailed), either from the Javanese themselves, or from the inhabitants of the circumjacent islands, who resorted to Java for the same advantages of commerce which they themselves came in pursuit of <sup>i</sup>.

However, although they must almost necessarily have been acquainted with Sumatra, yet it is evident they had never sailed quite round it; for, if they had, they would certainly not have mentioned Ceylon as the largest island in the ocean <sup>k</sup>.

From hence it would appear that they only knew part of Sumatra and Java; and either conjectured these were islands, or depended upon some informations they might probably have received from the inhabitants of these places, relative to this particular.

So that here we may venture to fix the limits of Ptolemy's knowledge; for, as these islands at that time were but a late discovery, they were very imperfectly known; and unfortunately the geographers, who lived after him, were all so prepossessed with his superior abilities, that they imagined his accuracy would bear no correction, and that he had exhausted the subject. For no other author mentions any discoveries to the east of these, taken notice of by him;

<sup>i</sup> The distance between Malacca and Java was less than between Malacca and Cattigara; besides, the south west monsoon was a fairer wind to the first than the last place, and of consequence this voyage must have been much shorter.

<sup>k</sup> Agathem. l. ii. c. c. 8.

and

and Marcianus Heracleota had such an opinion of his great merit, as to call him by the name “ of the “ most divine and most wise Ptolemy ; εκ τας γεωγραφικας του θειοτατου και σοφωτατου Πτολεμαιου.”

By a retrospect on such authors as have been quoted, and some others who wrote nearly at the same time, according to the order in which they lived, this subject will still appear in a clearer light.

In the days of Strabo, who lived before the Christian æra, and is supposed<sup>1</sup> to have survived it 28 years, few people had sailed so far as the Ganges, “ σπανιοι μιν και πεπλευκασι μεχρη του Γαγγου<sup>m</sup> ;” and being intimately acquainted with Gallus, who was the third governor of Ægypt, he had undoubtedly the most favourable opportunities of the most authentic intelligence concerning naval affairs.

Pomponius Mela is supposed to have writ before Pliny<sup>n</sup>, in the reign of Claudius, and 30 years after Strabo. In that interval, there appears to have been made some farther discoveries upon the continent ° to the east of the Ganges ; but so very imperfect, that they either imagined that country was an island, or had confounded their descriptions of it with these islands, which they would necessarily meet with in this voyage. For it is very certain, from Mela’s own words, that his knowledge of these places we are speaking of was extremely obscure, as all he has said

<sup>1</sup> Vossius.

<sup>m</sup> Strab. l. 15.

<sup>n</sup> Vossius, Bayle’s Hist. Dict.

• Strabo had probably the same information ; but, as it was so extremely imperfect, did not think proper to mention it in his geography of this country.

of them is, “ ad Tabim insula est Chrysa, ad Gangem Argyra, altera aurea foli, altera argentea ; atque ut maxime videtur, aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo ficta fabula est.”

The elder Pliny died in the 79th of the Christian æra, and was a cotemporary of Mela ; and seems to have referred to the above passage, in the following words : “ Extra ostium Indi Chryse et Argyre, fertiles metallis, ut credo ; nam quod aliqui tradidere, aureum argenteumque iis solum esse, haud facile crediderim P.”

Although the age in which Solinus lived is so uncertain, yet it might be imagined that it was not very long after Pliny ; having copied from the other geographers which went before him, he has advanced nothing upon this point that had not been already mentioned. His words are these : “ Extra Indi ostium insulæ duæ, Chryse et Argyre, adeo fecundæ copia metallorum, ut plerique eas aurea sola prodiderint habere et argentea .”

Josephus was 56 years of age, in the fourteenth year of Domitian’s reign, or 93d of the Christian æra<sup>r</sup> ; and appears to have had a little more knowledge of these places than any we have yet mentioned ; for, speaking of Saphira, from whence king Solomon had his gold, he says, that “ it was a country of India, and not an island ; and that it was now called by the name of “ Aurea, νυν δὲ Χρυσήν γῆν καλουμένην, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη.”

<sup>p</sup> J. Harduin, Plin. p. 322. vol. I. Paris, 1723.

<sup>q</sup> C. J. Solin. c. LII. Polyb. Histor. p. 700.

<sup>r</sup> Joseph. Oper. Ox. 1720.

Dionysius is supposed to have lived after Domitian, and before Severus<sup>\*</sup>. He wrote a description of the world in Greek verse, which it may be supposed he had finished before the reign of Trajan, or at least that he had not heard of the increase of geographical knowledge which took place at that time, for he was as little acquainted with the country beyond the Ganges, as those who are supposed to have been his predecessors, and only mentions it as an island remarkable for the distinctness with which the sun-rising was observed,

*Χρυσειν τοι νησον αγει πορος, ενθα και αυτου  
Ανολιη καθαροιο φαινεσθαι ηελιοιο.*

Dionys. Perieg. p. 111.

Ptolemy flourished under Adrian, and Antoninus; and made his last astronomical observation on a Wednesday, the 2d of February, in the year 141<sup>r</sup>. He has taken notice of many places not mentioned any where else, and is the first who has called Malacca a peninsula. Marinus indeed, whom he quotes as a late author, knew likewise that it was so; which still more confirms the supposition, that this was found out in Trajan's reign.

Ptolemy's works evidently shew, that his knowledge was superior to that of all the other antient geographers; and his living in Ægypt gave him ma-

<sup>r</sup> Dodwell, in Geog. vet.

<sup>\*</sup> Universal Hist. Vol. XV. p. 206.

ny opportunities of a very early intelligence concerning any discoveries made by navigation, which might be a long time before they were communicated to the other learned men of that extensive empire. Accordingly we see, that the author of the *P. Maris Erythræi*, who is supposed to have been his cotemporary <sup>t</sup>, but lived a little later to the time of Marcus and Verus, was less acquainted with these late discoveries.

Agathemerus, who had read Ptolemy's works, lived in the reign of Severus and Galienus <sup>u</sup>, in the beginning of the third century, and mentions the country of the Sinæ as the most oriental he was acquainted with.

Marcianus Heracleota is the last geographical author it will be necessary to mention. He is supposed to have lived some little time before the building of Constantinople, and even at that time this nation appears to have been the most oriental; for, although he copied from such authors as wrote in the interval between Ptolemy and him, yet all the improvement that was made during that time was only a men-suration of this particular coast, which Ptolemy himself tells us was not done in the days in which he lived <sup>x</sup>.

From these circumstances it is apparent, that no mention was made of this country during the first century. Marinus, as we have seen, wrote before Ptolemy; Ptolemy was far advanced in years before

<sup>t</sup> Dodwell.

<sup>u</sup> Dodwell.

<sup>x</sup> Ptol. c. 14.

the middle of the 2d century ; and farther, as it may be supposed that Trajan sent these ships to India at the time of his arrival in Arabia, which was in the 116th of the Christian era ; this may very well agree, in point of Chronology, not only with these authors, but also with our former supposition, that this country was found out in his reign. But as he scarce survived the expedition two years, such persons as were employed in this voyage, finding on their return that he was dead, might be discouraged from pursuing any discoveries they had made : especially as the voyage was attended with so much hazard and difficulty, and as the views upon which they had undertaken it were in all probability frustrated by the accession of a new emperor.

Admitting therefore, that this was their first attempt, may not the extent of their discovery be looked upon as very considerable ; and will it not in some measure account for their not having proceeded any farther than the east side of the bay of Siam ?

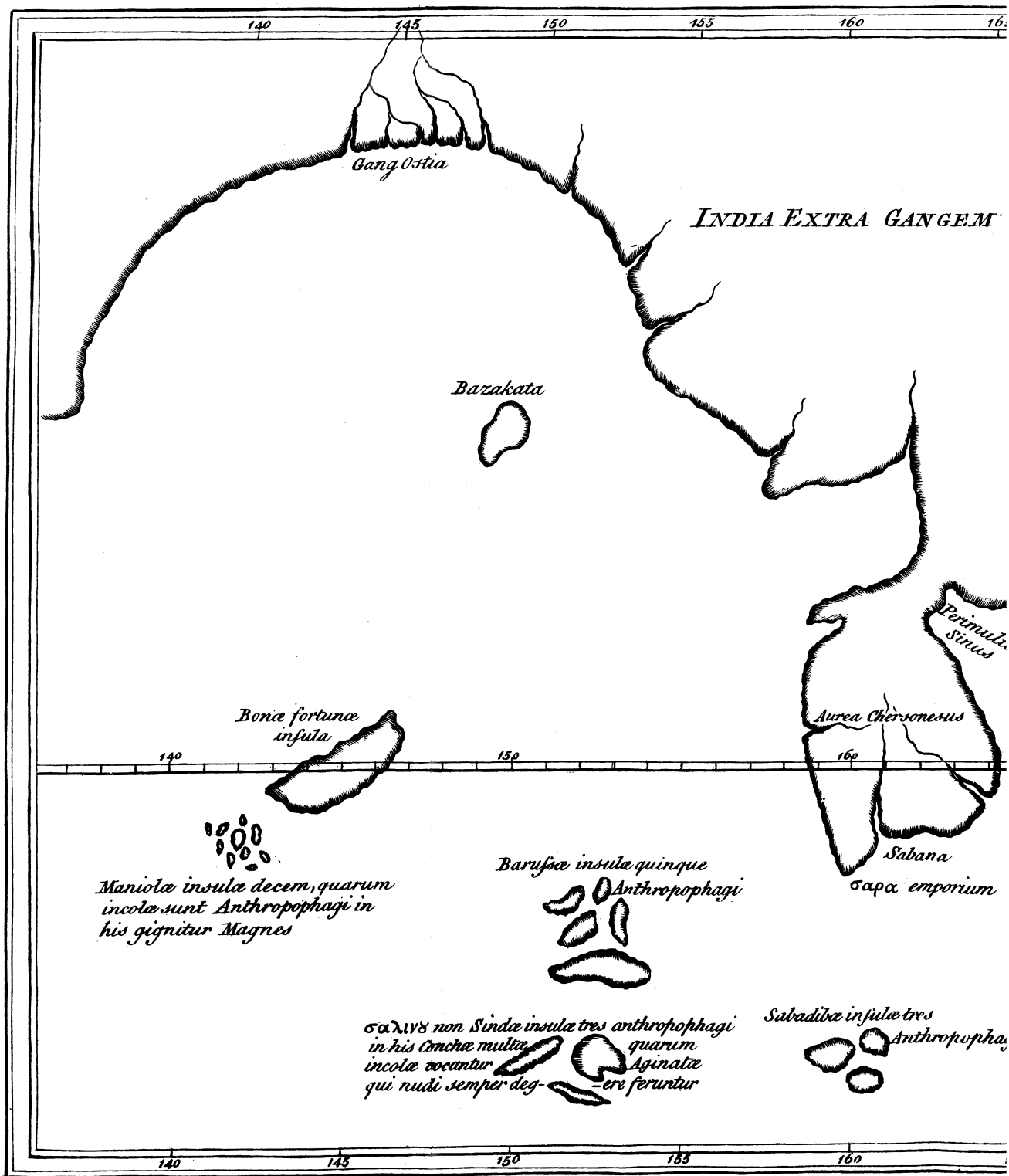
Upon the whole, as nothing was exported from this kingdom of the Sinæ but what the city of Cambodia excelled in ; and as the ancient and modern situations of these cities appear to be reciprocal ; above all, as we have the testimony of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, that it lay somewhere in the bay of Siam, and the express declaration of two others, that it was situated on the east side of the bay ; joined to the unanimous consent of all the geographers, that the country to the east and south was unknown, it may reasonably be inferred, that their *ultima* were upon

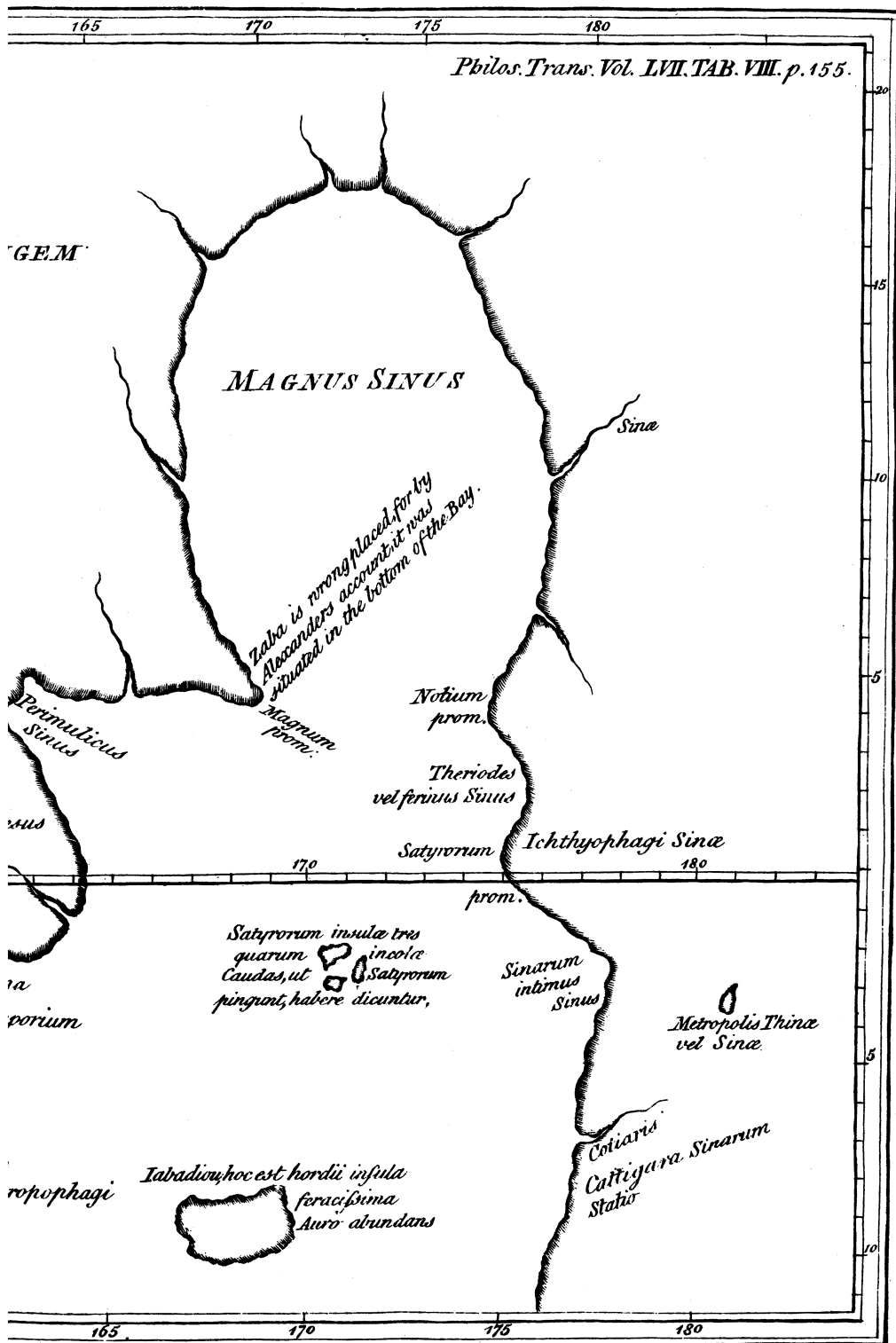
this coast; and the metropolis Sina or Thina the same as the modern city of Cambodia.

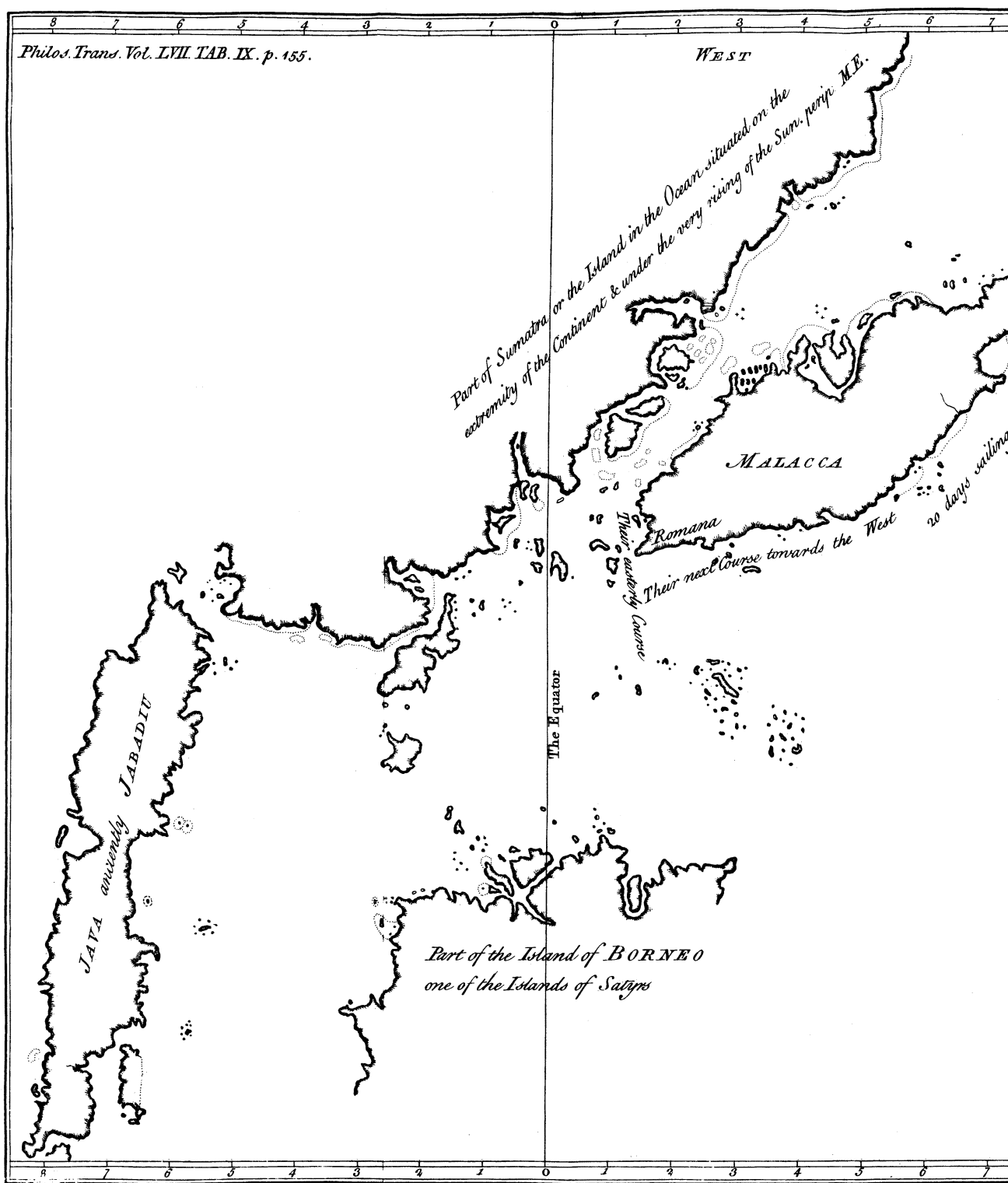
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Feb. 1. 1767.

γ Θίνα by the author of the Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 36. Σινων μετροπολις and Θειναι by Ptolemy, lib. i. c. 17. Θειναι by Marcianus Heracleota, p. 14. Θιν, acervus, cumulus, collis, &c. it might receive this name because it stands upon a mount, according to Mandesloe, vol. I. p. 331. to secure it from inundations. None of all these ancient writers of geography have ever called this country Θινων but Agathameros, lib. ii. c. 7. and it would appear he did it by mistake; for its proper name was certainly Metropolis Σινων, and Θίνα was only an accidental one, which it afterwards received to express more figuratively its situation.









WEST



PART OF THE  
BAY OF SIAM

Cape Non

The Bay of  
Wild Beasts

Some days sailing South from the bottom of the Great Bay.

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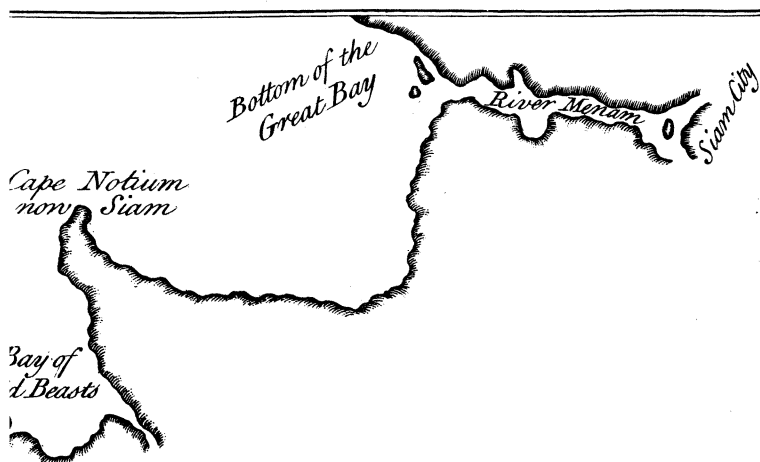
The Bay of the Sine

Also to  
the  
South

Calligara Situated upon the River Cotiar in M. Her

Unknown Marshy Country to the east of it.

River Mecon



*The Difficulty of doubling Cape Siam in sailing out of the bay, appears to have been the reason of the inconsistent information which Ptolemy received, & the Chief Cause of his Changing his opinion concerning a proper allowance for the Word Some.* NORTH

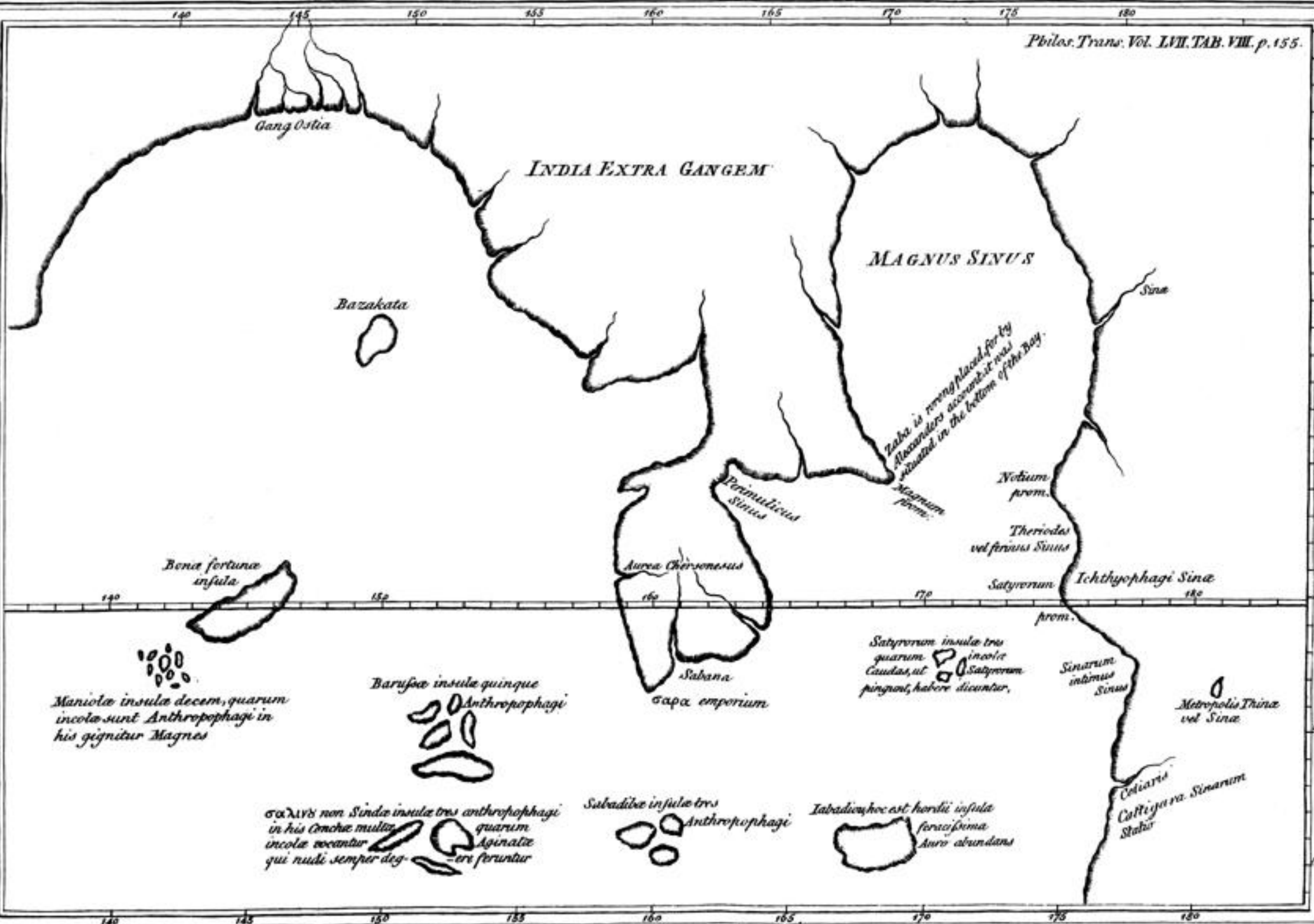
*But both reports may be easily reconciled by supposing, that some Ships might double it very soon & so reach Calligara in a few days whereas others by having more unfavorable winds might not be able to accomplish the same distance in a great many days.*

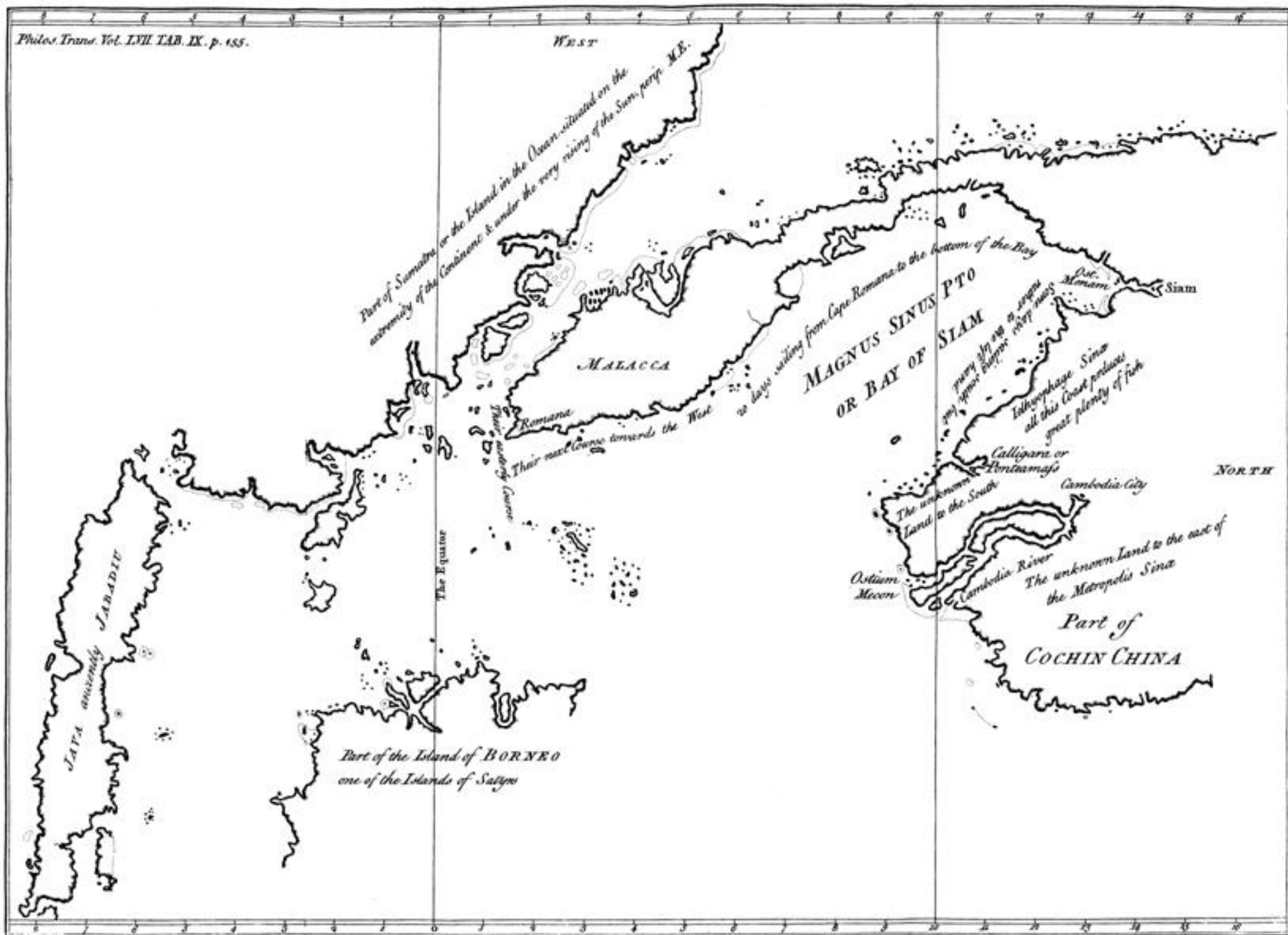
*M. Heracleot.*

δι το ταυτας ομολογειν ανατολικοτεραν αυτην ειναι των κατιγαρων. P. G. L. C. 15.



*Cambodia City situated 3 deg<sup>rs</sup> to the east of Calligara or 3 deg<sup>rs</sup> of distance from it.*





WEST

PART OF THE  
BAY OF SIAM

Bottom of the  
Great Bay

River Meriam

Siam City

Cape Notium  
now Siam

The Bay of  
Wild Beasts

Some days sailing South from the bottom of the Great Bay.

The Bay of the Sine

Also to  
the  
South

Calligara Situated upon the River Cotiarin M. Heracleot.

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